/357 cont./

252 A rudimentary way of preparing corn, but also little valued, consists of boiling the kernels in water for a long time until they have become soft (atiruru) (3).

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881
765
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3. Atiruru is a dish whose consumption is intimately associated with the observance of magico-religious prohibitions. It is the only permissible nourishment for girls when they have their first menstrual periods, for people in mourning, and for women for a period of ten days after giving birth (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 14).

252 /358/ The Chiriguano make a broth with corn flour (api)
262 and meat, which is not bad.

They do not use haphazardly the 11 varieties of corn which they cultivate. Each, according to its properties, is intended for the preparation of a definite dish. Yellow corn (avati-hendi-vaé or avati-iyu-vaé) serves for making chicha or corn beer; white corn (avati-ndi) is roasted, as is avati-kanana. The corn called katšintši, or crinkled corn, is generally roasted, as are avati-tšore and avati-saimpini (gray corn), which are intended to be roasted and made into flour.

262 Avati-rai, or small corn, is planted only in times of scarcity when the harvest has been bad. Of small stature, it yields only one ear of reduced size, but has the advantage of growing fast (Nino, pp. 241-242).

A Chiriguano's meal in normal times is not made up exclusively of corn, even if this grain figures in all his menus. The popularity which corn has is also shared by beans, or kumanda. The Chiriguano cultivate 11 varieties of them also.

[252 The Chiriguano eat beans either dry or fresh. In the
263] latter case they are cooked in the pod in water or under ashes. Beans boiled in the pod are seasoned with pimento. Then one has the dish called sopiriwa.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chane SF8



Chieftainship was inherited in the male line, but the title was bestowed on a chief's son only if he were worthy of it. There are only a very few cases of women ruling a *Chiriguano* group, but the *Chané* remembered the names of several women leaders. According to a genealogy of a *Chané* chiefly family recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 229), power was inherited successively by the brothers and sisters of a deceased chief before it passed to his son. In the village visited by Nordenskiöld, the brother's son of the chieftainess was the actual ruler, but her son by a commoner was the heir apparent. This system of succession is probably the same as the one prevailing among the eastern *Chané* (*Guana*).

*Chiriguano* chiefs of the past wore conspicuous ornaments and were entitled to carry the yanduwa, a pole with a bunch of feathers tied at the end, and a carved stick.

**Property.**—A plot that had once been cultivated by a man belonged to him and to his descendants, but could not be alienated by him. In order to insure new ownership rights, a *Chiriguano* would plant a few pumpkins on the land which he intended to clear.

**Justice.**—Thieves were expelled from the community or sometimes were flogged. A man convicted of adultery could lose his property. Murderers were sent into exile, unless the victim's family had time to kill him first. Wronged individuals often took justice into their own hands and challenged the offender to a duel. The settlement of old accounts occurred generally during drinking bouts.

### LIFE CYCLE

**Childbirth.**—Soon after childbirth, the mother went to the river to wash and smear herself with urucú. Both parents observed various food taboos. The father rested for a few days on his bed and refrained from any work, lest he harm the baby. One twin, as well as any malformed infant, was killed (Campana, 1902, p. 72).

**Puberty.**—Menstrual flow was attributed to the bite of a mysterious serpent. At her first menses a girl was hoisted in her hammock to the roof of the hut, where she was compelled to stay for 5 days without uttering a word. Then she remained for a month or more enclosed in a corner of the hut. Her hair was clipped short, and she was put on a diet of boiled maize. During her seclusion, she spun and wove wool and cotton so that she would be diligent for the rest of her life. Meanwhile, she became pallid, which was greatly admired when she returned to normal life. Henceforth, she used the affirmative "é, é" instead of the childish "ú, ú."

In ancient times, the confinement of a pubescent girl lasted for several months or even for a year[1] (Campana, 1902, p. 86).

[1] According to Father Chomé (1819 b, p. 202), the pubescent girl was hoisted in her hammock near the roof. During the second month, the hammock was lowered, but the confinement ended only in the third month, when a group of old women entered the hut with sticks to start a symbolic hunt for the serpent that had bitten the girl.

/209 cont./

843 262 415 [753] Near the time of giving birth, she carries less weight, prepares what is necessary, which consists of some cloth pads and her new little olla in which to cook the maize which she must eat boiled. If the olla were old or used, the newborn would be subject to mal caduco, or epilepsy, and if a woman who has just given birth were to eat parched maize, her breasts would dry up and would not give milk for feeding the child.

844 At the time of giving birth the only person left in the house is the midwife; the others, even the husband, go out, but he returns as soon as the birth has taken place, in order to lend some help to his wife and the midwife, who alone cannot attend to the newborn child and its mother, who fights with her very life against the pains, for which she is consoled at the sight of the fruit of her womb, which for a moment makes her forget her present suffering.

They at once cover with sand every trace of the event, wrap up with bands, cloths, or other things the body of the woman who has just given birth, and lay her on the ground face down, making her rest on a bed which has little or no resemblance to such, but as every Chiriguano woman is strong, she puts up with this as though she were in a featherbed.

184 ● 846 Throughout the whole world birth is a very dangerous thing, and it is even here. The Chiriguano women also need considerable rest. When some old women were asked about the matter, they stated that childbirth formerly lasted almost two weeks, and they marvel that the neophytes get up so quickly, returning to their customary labors within eight days; they attribute this robustness to the lack of strict fasting in the years of puberty.

846 /210/ It is consequently an error to state that puerperae go to the lake or river to bathe from the second or third day, much less on the same day as the birth. Natural reason would not allow the latter. There might have been some extraordinary case in which some woman walked immediately after giving birth, but it would not cease to be an extraordinary case. The [178] neophytes are abandoning the custom of their grandmothers and

/210 cont./

846 178 slowly accepting that of the whites. They do not come out of the house until they are completely well, and they only do it on a Sunday morning. They then wear a new dress for the first time and present themselves at the door of the church to receive the post partum blessing (1).

> 1. I saw an extraordinary case, from which no illness resulted. They have been accustomed to the post partum blessing by the virtuous old mistresses, and they continue this.

846 302 Soon, in a week or two, the woman is completely well, and she is allowed to go out to bathe and paint her face with urucu, returning gradually to her usual tasks. Childbirth is 844 785 regarded by the Chiriguano as a time of fasting, in which some authors say that all the members of the family participate, but this is not true; only the husband shares this obligation, and he does it for two or three days (2).

> 2. They say that it is necessary for the baby's father to fast so that it may not die nor any harm come to it when it grows up.

797 785 844 178 The missionaries try to eradicate from the neophytes the superstition that is represented by the husband's fasting, but when their mothers see that their grandchildren are dying, they reprehend in their children the abandonment of the customs of yesteryear. I knew an old woman who was very attached to these customs and who tried in every way to force her son to fast, in view of the fact that the newborn babies died every time her daughter-in-law gave birth.

6: Nordenskiöld--59 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8



## Chapter Twelve

## On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

### From the Womb to the Grave

The Chané and Chiriguano women work hard even during pregnancy, until they are to give birth. In Vocapoy's village there was a pregnant woman to whom I gave a pigeon that I shot. Vocapoy thereupon told me in great excitement that a pregnant woman must not eat pigeons. When a Chané or Chiriguano child comes into the world, it undoubtedly does not cause its mother much pain. These women are healthy and give birth easily, as do all Indian women who lead a healthy life and have never worn tight-fitting clothing. They also do not lie in childbed; instead, that must be done by the papa of the little one. Here, too, we come across this strange custom, the "couvade," which is known from so many Indian tribes. The husband is supposed to lie down for several days and observe a diet. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti he is permitted to eat only cooked maize and maize soup during the first few days, and later sweet potatoes as well. For several days he may not eat meat. For example, if he eats the meat of a goat, he will die, bleating as it does. The Chiriguano Indian Taco told me that he got his fat stomach because he did not observe this important custom. "I should have lain for five days and stayed on a diet," he said.

The custom of the couvade, as is well known, is very widespread in South America. Among the tribes with whom I am familiar it definitely occurs, aside from the /207/ Chiriguano and Chané, among the Choroti, Gûarayú, and Chacobo. K. v.d. Steinen (1), who describes this custom in detail from the Rio Xingu,

1. Karl v. d. Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentralbrasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/. Berlin, 1894.

/207 cont./

says it is probably known to all Brazilian tribes. On the other hand, the custom of the couvade seems to be unknown to the Quichua /Quechua/ and Aymara, that is to say, to the mountain culture in Bolivia and Peru. This is one of the many contrasts between the Indians of the mountains and of the virgin forest.

The Gûarayú Indians of northeastern Bolivia told me that if a man goes hunting immediately after his wife's confinement and, for example, shoots a parrot, he might kill his child. That is, during the first days of life the soul of the child follows the father.

Illegitimate children are very rarely born among the Chané and Chiriguano. I believe, perhaps I am mistaken, that the women of these Indians are chaste before they marry. On the Rio Itiyuro, among about 500 Chané, there was only one child born to an unmarried woman. Deformed children are very rarely born. Thus, from what I saw and what Batirayu said, in the entire Parapiti Valley, among 1500-2,000 Chané, there is no one who was born blind, none cross-eyed, no idiot, and only one with deformed extremities, and four deaf mutes. I did not observe any Indians with a serious stutter.

I do not know whether among these Indians, too, deformed children are immediately killed, but this is probably the case. Nor do I know whether abortion occurs. It is certain, however, that these healthy women seldom bear children who are not well formed. Nevertheless, in the Parapiti valley, as was said, there was a boy with deformed extremities. One hip bone was too short and one arm was also crippled. This boy was treated by all with extraordinary kindness, /208/ and loud approval was expressed when I gave him a few small presents.

When the child begins to walk, it is given a name. This is not given by the father or mother, but by its grandparents. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti I wrote down a few names. If it is a boy, he is called, for example, yatéurembi (lip of the tick), huásucaca (guanaco), tâtunambi (armadillo ear), yânducûpe (ostrich back), vacainyáca (cow head), aguárachivi (fox urine), derésa paravéte (your poor eyes); if it is a girl, for example, árasaypoti (guava blossom) (1). A great many of the names are

1. Psidium guayava.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10



*in each of the lower corners of the beam ends*, fig. 231. From the illustrations representing the rest of the Old Peruvian balances it cannot be seen in what way the poising and weight cords were fixed. The balances in question have, however, been published in Hamy's grand work, Galerie américaine, and from that work I have therefore endeavoured to gain information concerning this matter. There is only one balance, one without weight cords, that has been given a detailed description, and regarding this, it is stated that the beam, at its centre, has *a vertical perforation* (for the poising cord), and that the lower corners of the beam ends are each pierced with a slanting hole (»les angles inférieurs sont aussi perforés mais obliquement»).[1] If one or more of the balances reproduced had been of a different construction in this detail, the fact would no doubt have been noted in the text.[2] From what I have adduced above, it therefore follows that the illustrative material, which Nordenskiöld so chivalrously submitted for my criticism of his theory, most essentially enhances the probability of my opinion that the unhandy Old Peruvian weighing apparatus shown in fig. 229, is an improvisation of a whistle which, as I aimed at proving in a separate monograph, belongs to a type of open whistles which is widely distributed over the American continent.[3]

As mentioned, the Chiriguano live in villages, and it is only exceptionally that one comes across isolated huts. Each village is under the authority of a headman, or chief.

Both sexes marry at an early age. Monogamy is the rule, but well-to-do men, and chiefs, may be found who have several wives. When a girl menstruates for the first time, her hair is cut short (fig. 194), and she is kept shut up in a hut until her hair has grown long again, after which she is considered marriageable. When a boy attains to puberty, a hole is made through his lower lip, and a wooden plug is put into the hole. Subsequently this is exchanged for a bead-studded »tembeta» (figs. 194 and 197). Marriages are celebrated by feasting, when large quantities of maize beer are consumed. The women pass through childbirth easily, and therefore do not require many days of nursing after the child has

[1] Hamy (1), p. 110.

[2] At the British Museum there is an ancient Peruvian scale apparently of the same construction as those described by Hamy. Joyce (1) p. 130, fig. 11

[3] von Rosen (8).

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[844] come into the world. But, in observance of a custom largely prevalent among the Indians of South America, the husband pretends for several days to be lying in childbed, and then keeps an invalid diet!

755 Illnesses are treated by medicine men, who by incantations and other
756 resorts of magic try to expel the evil.

764 After a death, the corpse is placed in a large earthenware jar, which
763 is put into a hole dug in the ground. According to what a Spanish-speaking Chiriguano Indian told me, it was formerly customary to sever, by incision, the spine of a dying person, in order to shorten his death agony. Before life was extinct, the body was thrust into a huge jar, into which also ornaments, weapons, food and drink were put, the mouth of the vessel then being carefully closed up with an earthenware platter. It was important that the lid was put on before the dying person had drawn his last breath. By doing this, it was thought that the soul of the dead [775] would for a time be held in confinement, so that it would not be able to work any harm on the living.[1] The jar was afterwards interred inside the dead person's hut.

181 With the exception of the Chané — a tribe on the same cultural level as the Chiriguano — the latter seem to me a people considerably superior to the neighbouring tribes, whether inhabiting the mountain regions or the Gran Chaco. Both the mountain- and the Chaco Indians are dirty and of uncleanly habits, whilst the Chiriguano on the contrary [515] are very observant of bodily cleanliness. For example, the Chiriguano women bathe every day, and often several times a day. Among the [931] Choroti, the girls are in the habit of living in loose sexual relations with [171] a plurality of men, before marrying, whilst the Chiriguano girls, as a rule, preserve their chastity intact until they marry. Also as regards material culture, the Chiriguano and the Chané are on a higher plane than their present-day neighbours. When compared with the ceramics of the [323] peoples of the Chaco, the maize-beer vessels, for instance, that are characteristic of the Chiriguano and the Chané, stand out as veritable show pieces.

181 Of old, the Chiriguano have a reputation for being a very warlike
648 nation. As early as in the time of the Incas, this tribe made a raid into ancient Peruvian territory,[2] and even as late as 1890 the Chiriguano

[1] Cf. Krickeberg (1), p. 134.
[2] Nordenskiöld (16).

generals, that is the ones who have several camps under their command, have at least one wife in each camp. C 622

Two or three days after delivery, mother and child wash, the new mother resting for only that length of time. M 846

The father acknowledges his child and takes it into his arms with the following words: "This is my child." In some tribes it is customary for the husband to take to his bed when his wife is in labor, as an act of acknowledgement; and among the Chiriguanos the man takes his place beside his wife and for three days is cared for as if he had... given birth to a child! Then he gets up, but does not make any trips or work until seven days have elapsed, after which period the wife also gets up and washes. While the couple is in labor they eat nothing but water and a pap made with corn and bean broth; they abstain from eating meat.

It is quite common for a man to have two or more sisters simultaneously as wives. I can also give assurance that every now and then a father will not disdain even his own daughter. If no one will acknowledge a child as his own the mother may kill it. M 595 [588] [847]

The Indians are very skilled midwives: the white settlers themselves use their services. It is said that they are extraordinarily expert in taking advantage of the precise moment of crisis, holding the patient in a more or less straight position, apparently even shaking her, but without doing her harm. To this activity they add words to which the Indians attribute [185] virtue and to which the whites, who do not understand them, ascribe even more. So is it always! M 844

Let it not be thought, however, that in the matter of love-making they limit their efforts to a more or less expressive pantomime. The fact is that they have words and expressions and a language which lend themselves admirably to amorous declarations and which they use. The harmoniousness of the Guaraní language is well known to all, it might even be said that it is too much so when used by the men and by the Chiriguanos, whose mother tongue it also is. But even the Matacos, the rude, unpolished Matacos who seem to be the last on the anthropological scale of all these South American Indians, have their harmonious expressions and the well-bred ideas which correspond to them. C M 832

I remember an occasion on board ship when there was among us a good looking Indian woman who was quiet, impassive and even M 832